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The American Observer

A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends.—James Monroe

VOLUME XIII, NUMBER 32 WASHINGTON, D. C. May 15, 1944

London Conference Maps Future Policy

Dominion Prime Ministers Confer with Churchill to Plan Post-war Role of Empire

CLOSER COLLABORATION EXPECTED

Seen as Attempt to Counterbalance Power of United States and Russia after War

Last week, the world spotlight turned to the meeting of the prime ministers of the British Commonwealth of Nations which was being held in London. This is the first time since the outbreak of war that the heads of the self-governing dominions of the Commonwealth have met together. Prime Ministers W. L. Mackenzie King of Canada, John Curtin of Australia, Jan Smuts of the Union of South Africa, and Peter Fraser of New Zealand are discussing the mutual problems of their countries with Prime Minister Churchill. Of all the self-governing dominions, only Eire is not represented. The reason for Prime Minister De Valera's absence is that Eire, though a member of the Commonwealth of Nations, is not at war with the Axis as all the other dominions are.

Future of Commonwealth

The purpose of this conference is not to discuss war strategy and war problems but to consider the future role of the British Commonwealth of Nations in the postwar era. "It's high time we got around the table to exchange views and ideas," said Prime Minister Churchill in opening the conference. He declared further that "the British Empire in its collective aspect should put itself solidly on the map and make all the watching world realize that it stands together, woven into one family of nations."

In this instance, Mr. Churchill spoke only of the British *Empire*, but in most of his speeches to the prime ministers and in addresses to the House of Commons he has referred to the "*Commonwealth* and the *Empire*." Although the two words are frequently used interchangeably, with both "Commonwealth" and "Empire" used to include all territory politically united to Britain, there is a distinction between the two terms. The British Commonwealth of Nations refers to the self-governing dominions which enjoy complete independence of action and which are united voluntarily by common allegiance to the crown. The British Empire, on the other hand, is composed of all colonies, dependencies, protectorates, which are controlled by the British government. The Empire is thus primarily the concern of one of the members of the Commonwealth since that member, the United Kingdom, exerts varying degrees of control over the units of the Empire.

Although India has a representative at the London conference who will participate in discussions of problems

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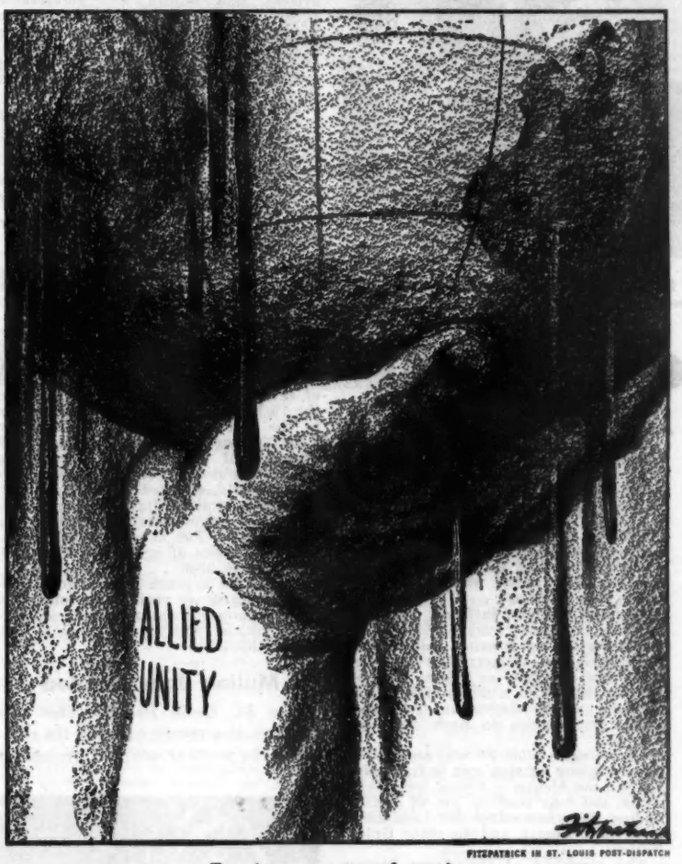

FITZPATRICK IN ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

For victory, peace, and security

Excellence in All Things

By Walter E. Myer

Let us suppose that you are preparing for an airplane flight. You go to the field and are ready to enter the plane and be whisked high into the air. You suddenly realize how much you are depending upon the pilot. You are placing your life in his hands. You will be safe only if he is skillful; only if he is competent, careful, reliable.

Suppose you should ask someone if he knows anything about this pilot whom you are trusting with your life, and should receive this reply: "Oh, he is pretty good. His record did not qualify him for a position as pilot with the big commercial airlines, but he was able to get this job of taking passengers on local flights. He is not always too careful, but on the whole he does pretty well. I should say that he is at least fair."

Or suppose that a member of your family is dangerously ill. You ask about a physician whom you are thinking of calling, and you are told that he is perhaps average, that he is not the most skillful physician in the city, and that he does not devote himself wholeheartedly to his work. He is a good fellow, a good mixer, and quite a likeable chap, but he does not seem to take his medical work seriously enough.

Will you trust the pilot or the physician in such a case? Of course you will not, because when much is at stake you want the very best. You are not satisfied with mediocrity. You are looking for someone who knows, someone who is giving to his work the very best of his powers, someone who is not only capable but reliable.

You may say that you do not expect to follow an occupation such as medicine or aviation, where the standards are so exacting. But all jobs, if they are done well, require skill and effort. It makes a great difference whether a cook prepares a delicious meal, with every dish seasoned to a turn, or whether she turns out a conglomeration of unsavory and unpalatable, ill-cooked foods. It makes a difference whether the mechanic does a skillful job on your car; whether the laundress sends the clothing back clean and fresh. It makes a difference whether the victory garden is cultivated with skill, whether the yard is tended neatly and artistically, whether the dishes are carefully washed, whether lessons are prepared with honest competence, whether the newspaper is read attentively and thoughtfully.

The world takes off its hat to excellence wherever it is found, for excellence in all things, big and little, helps to build a better world and to make lives happier. In your home, your school, your vocation, you will do well to establish habits of excellence, habits which will win the respect of others and which will also contribute to your personal satisfaction and financial gain.

Government Seizure Of Ward's Examined

Bitter Controversy Is Raised over Use of President's Powers in Taking over Plant

CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUE IS INVOLVED

Federal Court to Determine Extent to Which Government May Act in Settling Disputes

In the federal courts, in the halls of Congress, in the press of the nation, and in private conversation throughout the country, the government's seizure of Montgomery Ward's Chicago plants, is a subject of discussion.

The courts are considering the legal aspects of the case. Before this paper reaches its readers, a federal court in Chicago probably will have delivered a decision on the President's right to seize the plants. The case may be appealed and may eventually reach the United States Supreme Court. Its decision may be of far-reaching importance. It may go far toward clearing up the troublesome and hitherto undetermined question as to the extent of the President's so-called "war powers."

Highly Important Issues

The issues involved are highly important. What steps can the government take, and what steps should it take, to keep the wheels of industry turning in wartime? What are the limits of the government's powers over private industry and over labor? Can the government act drastically enough to prevent labor disputes from interfering with the war effort without encroaching dangerously upon the personal liberties which we are fighting to preserve?

To obtain a balanced picture of the controversy one must examine fairly the facts and outstanding issues bearing upon the case. A good place to begin is with the quarrel which developed more than two years ago between Montgomery Ward's Chicago establishments and their employees.

The law requires that a majority of the workers of any company may decide who shall represent them in negotiating with the company over wages, hours, and working conditions. In February, 1942, a majority of Montgomery Ward's Chicago employees voted that the CIO union should represent them.

It was then necessary for the company officials and the officers of the union to agree upon a contract under which the employees should work. This contract would fix the wages, the hours to be worked, and would prescribe the various conditions of employment. It proved a hard job to agree on such a contract. The company and the union quibbled over terms for months, and finally the War Labor Board (WLB) stepped in and tried to assist with negotiations.

After there had been further disputes and disagreement the WLB took matters into its own hands, wrote the

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INT'L NEWS

"The great Chinese race is being slowly hammered into a nation upon the anvils of war"

Points of View

What Authors and Editors Are Saying

(The ideas expressed in these columns should not be taken to represent the views of the editors of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER.)

Our Future In Asia

A strong case for following a policy of power politics in postwar Asia, backed up by American military and naval strength, is made by Demaree Bess in a recent article in the *Saturday Evening Post*. Here are some of the complications involved:

The great Chinese race is being slowly hammered into a nation upon the anvils of war. But no amount of emotional sympathy for the Chinese should blind us to the evidence that China is not now a great power, and cannot possibly become one for at least a "generation or two." During that period the American people are committed, whether they realize it or not, to uphold China's territorial integrity against all comers.

We have thus become a major factor in a balance-of-power policy in the Far East, with the preservation of China as our major stake. In the past, that stake proved to be important enough to us so that we took measures in its support which led, eventually, to war against Japan. In future, we can fulfill our commitments peacefully only by the maintenance of extremely delicate relationships with European imperialists, with powerful Soviet Russia, and with the Chinese people, who are nationalist in spirit but are not yet organized as a great power. . . .

Are the American people willing to pay the price which our commitments demand? Certainly not if we are kept in ignorance of what the price is. Certainly not if we permit our Pacific policy to become the football of domestic politics or to be pushed this way and that by emotional groups with no clear view of our main objectives or of our own limitations.

The American share in that peace, if it is to be effective, will require not only a high level of statesmanship but also the maintenance, for an indefinite period, of American military and naval power. We have seen, before and since Pearl Harbor, what happens when the American people insist upon indulging in power politics without providing themselves with the military power which that game requires.

Supplying the Invasion

The gigantic task of supplying not only our fighting men in England, but also those in the Pacific and in other parts of the world has fallen on the shoulders of Lieutenant General Brehon Somervell, head of the Army Service Forces (ASF). Millions of different items of equipment must be supplied to the right places at the right time. Upon the efficiency with which this job is carried out, the success of the invasion will largely depend.

In the June issue of *The American*, John Janney gives a picture of General Somervell and his responsibilities:

This is the greatest military supply and service job in world history. It is greater even than that of the Russian and German armies, which operate on short supply lines. . . .

During the winter just past, Somervell and his ASF were busy night and day preparing for the greatest task of all—the invasion of Western Europe. This is the test of supply as well as men, not only in the initial landings, but in how fast our supply depots are set up to enable our armies to push deep into Europe.

At the same time he was occupied in supplying our fighting men in Italy, New Guinea, the Aleutians, China, India, Australia, and way stations, not to mention finding the wherewithal for Lend-Lease to Britain, Russia, and the other United Nations. . . .

The command of the Army Service Forces really includes many different jobs. Under it come the Army doctors and nurses (Surgeon General), the chaplains of all faiths, the custody of enemy prisoners, the 140,000 military police, the administration of courts-martial, entertainment of the troops, the WACs and the Army payroll of many billions of dollars a year.

Thus, besides his main job of supply, he is Doctor, Minister, Jailer, Showman, Judge, Paymaster, and Cop to the American Army.

Puerto Rican Policy

Before Americans begin handing out advice to others about how to run their colonies, they might well examine their own spotty record of colonial administration. That is the contention of Joseph M. Jones, writing in the current *Fortune*, and he cites Puerto Rico as his prime example:

American policy in Puerto Rico has been sharply criticized

Our record has probably been worst in Puerto Rico. There our thoughtless and sporadic generosity and liberal impulses have fallen the furthest short of promoting a steady growth of political aptitude and economic independence. Puerto Rico has an extremely difficult economic problem, which can be enduringly remedied only by the methodical execution over a long period of years of a policy of constructive investment of U. S. funds in health, education, and productive facilities. Moreover, it is evident that within any foreseeable period of time political independence would yield only starvation to a large proportion of the island's population. Our two panaceas—spending money and independence—then, just do not work in Puerto Rico.

Mr. Jones cites many facts to show how the bulk of Puerto Rico's two million people—packed in one of the world's most densely populated areas—suffer from a crushing burden of poverty, malnutrition, incredibly poor housing, and disease:

The mortality rate is nearly twice as high as that in the U. S. and Canada and the highest in the Western Hemisphere. The death rate from tuberculosis is five times that in the U. S. Nearly 90 per cent of rural and 40 per cent of the urban population carry hookworm.

Yet Puerto Rico had in 1942 a total of 497 physicians, of whom 370 were in the 13 largest cities, leaving 127 doctors in the rest of the island to care for 1,300,000 persons. There are only 110 hospitals of all kinds. Puerto Rico's cities contain some of the worst slums in the world, situated in swamp areas, without sanitation facilities, and often with one spigot serving hundreds of families. . . . The average yearly earnings of families of agricultural laborers in 1943 were $249. . .

If we have as much interest in dependent peoples as we profess, we might try to give the world an example in enlightened colonial policy. Let's begin with Puerto Rico.

55 Million Jobs Needed

The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* emphasizes in a recent editorial the challenge the postwar era will present in

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Can the United States provide 55 million jobs after the war?

providing sufficient jobs to keep the national economy healthy. Much of the planning now under way is directed toward the objective of providing full employment. In commenting upon a series of articles which discussed this problem, the *Post-Dispatch* sizes up the nature of the problem as follows:

Business and political leaders and economists generally agree that gainful employment will be needed for 55 million persons if we are to avoid a condition of distressing unemployment. This compares with about 46 million gainfully employed in 1940.

Here we have the striking conclusion that our economy must provide profitable employment for nearly 20 per cent more workers than it engaged before we entered the war. But of greater significance is this fact: technological progress is so increasing the productive capacity of workers that by 1946 the output per man-hour will be at least 18½ per cent greater than in 1941. In the absence of accommodating progress elsewhere in our economic system, so great an increase in productive power would spell disastrous unemployment.

What the planners hope for and are working toward . . . is an improved and sustained standard of living which will absorb the vastly increased output of goods. If this condition can be brought about, it will mean higher consumption.

What are the prospects that this higher standard of living can be sustained and that it will provide the additional jobs? Many possibilities have been discussed. There is the growing recognition by industry of its responsibility; a recognition that private enterprise is on trial; acceptance of changes which have brought "an era of social consciousness." There is evidence of planning by organized industry on a scale never before undertaken. There is planning by government, too, all the way from Washington down to the county seat.

Businessmen are talking about lower profit margins and larger volume, so that wage standards may be maintained. They are talking, too, about new enterprises, about vast new industries based on recent inventions and discoveries, and about the need of some relaxation in tax laws and business controls so that the incentive will be increased for risk capital to engage in new undertakings.

There is encouragement in the wide interest, in the nature of the discussions, in the scope of the planning, in the new understanding and sympathetic attitudes of leaders in all fields.

Week in Congress

During the week ending May 6, Congress took the following action on important national problems:

Monday, May 1

Senate not in session.

House adjourned out of respect to the Honorable Frank Knox, the late Secretary of the Navy. A committee of seven was appointed to represent the House at the funeral and to take such action as to show the respect of the Congress.

Tuesday, May 2

Senate passed the Agriculture appropriation, including the amendment extending the school lunch program to 1946 which was recently turned down in the House. Passed several resolutions authorizing investigations of U. S. Indians, farm machinery, and readjustment of World War II veterans.

House took action on numerous minor bills.

Wednesday, May 3

Senate approved without opposition a resolution authorizing an investigation of the government seizure of the Montgomery Ward plant. Took up the Contract Termination bill sponsored by Murray, of Montana, and George, of Georgia. Commemorated the 153rd anniversary of the Constitution of Poland.

House debated tax simplification under the closed rule. Only mild opposition developed. Devoted two hours to speeches in honor of the anniversary of the Polish Constitution.

Thursday, May 4

Senate passed the Murray-George Contract Termination bill. Turned down amendments proposed by Kilgore, of West Virginia, which would make provisions for reconversion problems affecting workers.

House finished debate on the bill simplifying individual income taxes. Heard Gearhart, of California, assert that the bill would provide but little simplification for the majority of taxpayers.

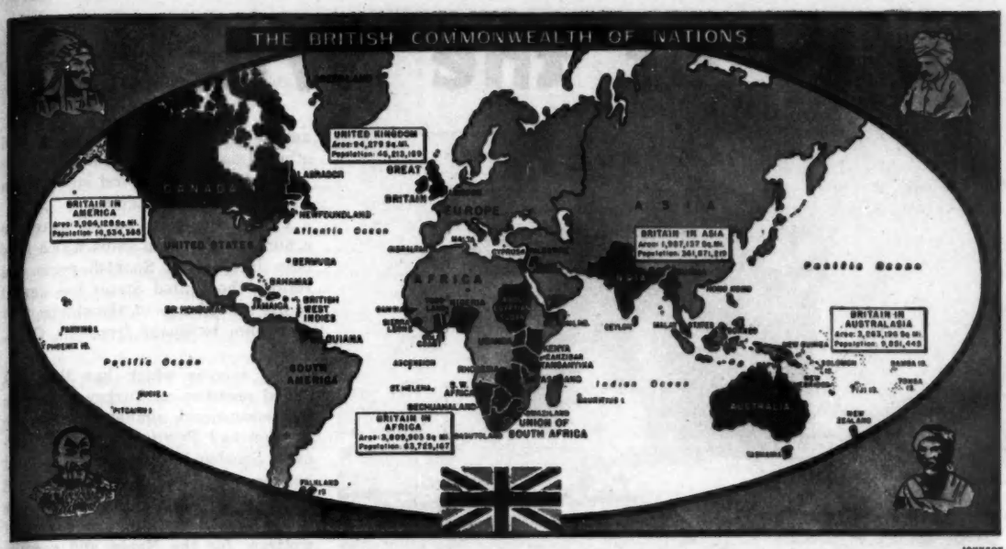
Friday, May 5

Senate met briefly and transacted only routine business.

House approved investigation of Montgomery Ward seizure by a vote of 300 to 60. The tax simplification bill was passed with a vote of 358 to 0. Funds for additional emergency care of wives and children of enlisted men in the armed services were approved.

Saturday, May 6

Neither house in session.



JOHNSON

Future of British Commonwealth

(Concluded from page 1)

relating to India and the Empire, the major emphasis will be upon the problems of the Commonwealth. In dealing with these problems, the four dominions will act as independent nations for they are in no way controlled by the British government in London. As Lord Halifax described the relationships of the Commonwealth some time ago:

I often think that to the outsider the British Commonwealth must surely appear an almost inexplicable freak of nature. We can imagine the bewilderment of an intelligent visitor from another planet on being confronted with its manifest contradictions. He would see something, of which the component parts were united under a single head, but constitutionally so ordered that while that head, in his capacity as King in Great Britain, might be at war with a foreign power, as King in a Dominion he might continue to enjoy normal friendly relations with the enemy.

The Dominions

The nations composing the Commonwealth vary in size, population, and national characteristics. Canada, third largest country in the world, is larger than the United States and yet has a population of only 11 and a half million. Mr. Mackenzie King has been prime minister longer than the head of any other democratic state. He is head of the Liberal party.

Australia, itself a continent, is only slightly smaller than the United States, with a population of some seven million. New Zealand extends a thousand miles from tip to tip and has a population of only a million and a half. The governments of both countries is now controlled by the Labor party and in each country extensive social reforms have been inaugurated during recent years. The Union of South Africa is about twice the size of Texas, with a population of nearly 10 million. Its prime minister, General Smuts, is one of the world's most distinguished statesmen.

The problem uppermost in the minds of the prime ministers as they meet in London is the future security of their countries—military security and economic security. Each country wants to make sure that the scourge of war will be removed in the future. Each also wants to work out arrangements whereby prosperity and a high standard of living may be maintained after the war.

Both Britishers and members of the dominions have been thinking seriously about these problems during recent months. Some of them are frankly worried about Britain's future place in the world. Many of them see the possibility of Britain's dropping to a second-rate power. This fear is based upon the tremendous power of both the United States and Soviet Russia. Britishers see these two nations emerging from the war as the two great powers. Both have enormous resources, vast areas, large populations. Both have surged forward during the war. Lord Halifax sized up this situation some time ago when he declared:

Today we begin to look beyond the war to the reordering of the world which must follow. We see three great powers, the United States, Russia, and China, great in numbers, areas, and natural resources. Side by side with them is the United Kingdom, with a population of less than 50 million, with a territory which could easily be contained in one of the larger states of the American Union, and with natural resources which, though great in proportion to her size, are by themselves scarcely comparable with those of her companions. In the company of these Titans, Britain, apart from the rest of the Commonwealth and Empire, could hardly claim equal partnership.

Strengthening Ties

Many Britishers see their only hope of holding their own in the postwar world in strengthening the ties of the Commonwealth and the Empire in such a way as to offset the advantages which the United States and Russia will enjoy. If the Commonwealth can speak as a unit in the postwar world, its weight will be more nearly equal to that of the United States and Russia than would be the weight of England alone. Almost all sections of British opinion favor this policy, ranging from the extremists of both the Labor party and the Conservative party.

It is not only to add to Britain's political influence in the postwar era that such a policy is being considered. One of the principal objectives of attempting to forge the bonds of the Commonwealth more closely is to improve the economic position of each of the dominions and of the Commonwealth and Empire as a whole. British statesmanship is giving a great deal of attention to methods of establishing closer economic relationships among the members of the Commonwealth.

Trade within the Empire has always been a primary matter of concern to the British. Before the war, they had gone far toward increasing trade by working out a system of preferences whereby lower rates of duty were imposed upon imports from nations within the Commonwealth than upon imports from other nations. This system, known as "imperial preference," has come to the fore again as Britain looks to the future.

The dominions are as vitally interested in future trade relations as is England. Under the impetus of war, their productive capacity has greatly increased. They have undergone a degree of industrialization undreamed of before the war. When the war is over, they must find markets not only for their agricultural products but also for their industrial wares. Many of them see the answer to their problem in an extension of the system of imperial preference.

Possible Effects

Prime Minister Churchill has made it clear in recent addresses to the House of Commons that Great Britain has no intention of abandoning the system of imperial preference after the war. He said that in signing both the Atlantic Charter and Lend-Lease agreements, Britain and the dominions retained "the fullest possible rights and liberties over the question of imperial preference," and that Britain was "no more committed to the abolition of imperial preference than the American government is committed to the abolition of their protective tariffs."

If this attempt to cement the ties among the members of the Commonwealth, both political and economic, is successful, what effect is it likely to have upon the rest of the world? That is a question which is worrying many people at the present time. They fear that if Britain seeks to strengthen her political position by lining up the Commonwealth and perhaps certain nations in Western Europe, as has been suggested by many political leaders, including Prime Minister Smuts and Lord Halifax, she will be building up a bloc of nations which may rival the United States and Russia. The result may be a contest for power and influence in which each will try to outdo the other, leading to friction and possibly to war.

On the economic front, it is argued that by building up a strong unit with close trade relations based upon the principle of imperial preference, Britain will make it difficult to break down trade barriers throughout the world—an objective which must be realized if peace is to be established on a firm foundation.

Many people fear that the present efforts of the British to strengthen the political and economic ties of the Commonwealth and the Empire may be used as a substitute for international organization after the war. Mr. Churchill took note of these misgivings a few days ago when he declared: "I have never conceived that fraternal association with the United States would militate in any way against the unity of the British Commonwealth or Empire or breed ill feeling with our great Russian ally. . . . I do not think we have to choose this or that. With wisdom, patience, vigor, and courage we may get the best of both."

The Big Issue

The big issue raised by the London meeting of the prime ministers of the Commonwealth is not whether the ties of the Commonwealth and the Empire shall be strengthened, but rather whether this tightening of the bonds of empire shall be a substitute for participation in and cooperation with a strong international organization after the war. It is the same issue which confronts the United States and Russia, for each must decide in the weeks and months ahead whether it will depend for its security primarily upon its own power and the power it can develop or upon international cooperation in which all nations will work for peace and security. If the powerful Allies, united in war, drift apart after the conflict, the world will again enter into a period of power politics with all the dangers such a policy implies.

ACME

PRIME MINISTERS OF THE COMMONWEALTH. Left to right: Prime Ministers Mackenzie King of Canada; Jan C. Smuts of the Union of South Africa; Winston Churchill of the United Kingdom; Peter Fraser of New Zealand; John Curtin of Australia.

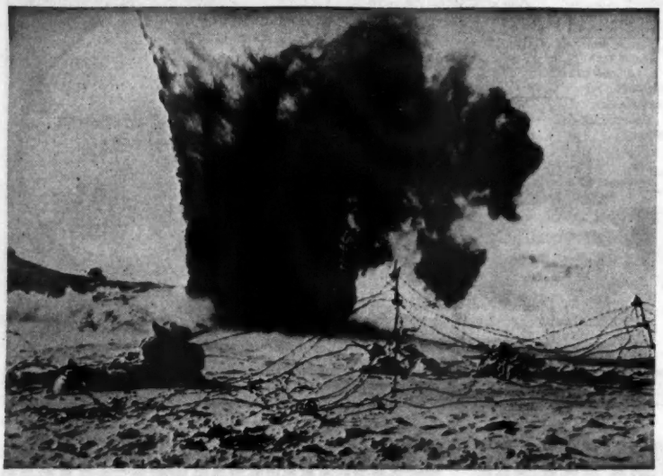
The Story of the Week

The War Fronts

Allied strategy last week consisted largely of increased use of what the New York *Times* called "the weapon of uncertainty." The flooding of large sections of the Pontine Marshes below Rome, between the Anzio beachhead and the Cassino front, was seen as one manifestation of the German uncertainty. The Germans have taken this action because of their fear of new landings in Italy. "From the scurrying movements of their troops from one possible invasion point to another," says the *Times*, "from the state of *alerte* imposed on their soldiers in every sector, from the works of destruction they are feverishly preparing in Norway, Holland, on all the coasts of France, in Greece and the Adriatic littoral, from the rumors, guesses, and contradictory orders they are broadcasting all over Europe, it is evident that the enemy has not the least idea of the time or place of invasion . . . Uncertainty is in itself a formidable weapon; it impels the enemy to aid in the work of destruction and defeat."

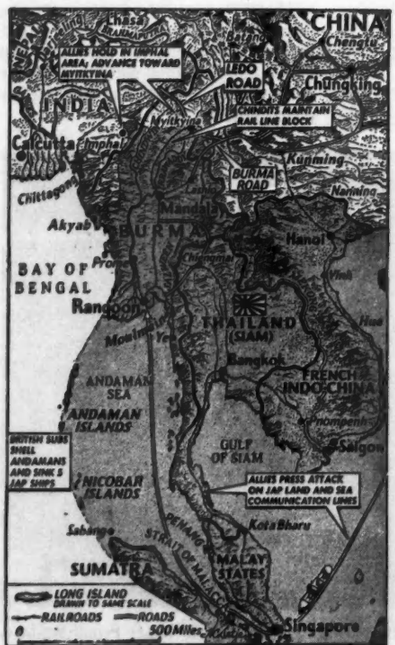
Nor did the pattern of the air war reveal much to the Nazis. Communication centers all along the invasion coast were subjected to bombings by day and night in order to prevent the rushing of reinforcements and supplies once the invasion is under way. Concentrations of tanks and trucks were severely attacked in France. Even on the Russian front, the principal activity was in the air as German defense centers behind the front were subjected to heavy bombings. But uncertainty as to the next move was a weapon which the Russians were using as effectively in the East as the British and Americans were using it in the West.

In the Pacific theater, the principal activity was increased aerial offensives against Truk, in the Caroline group, and moderate Allied gains in Northern Burma and India. The Japanese threat at the key Allied base at Imphal has failed to materialize and General Stilwell's American and Chinese forces made gains in their drive toward Myitkyina, key Japanese base in northern Burma.



ACME

FINAL DRESS REHEARSAL. Somewhere in England, joint British-American "last minute" maneuvers are held to complete the training for D-Day



COURTESY PM

The Burma front

Ration-Free Goods

Many an American who had tightened his belt for a long siege of food rationing was pleasantly surprised by the decision of OPA to take most meats off the ration list. Although this action may be only temporary, authorities say that for the present Americans will be able to get all the meat they wish, point-free, except certain types of beef.

This action marks a climax in a trend toward reducing the ration list. Coffee, an item which was missed as much as any other when it was rationed, has been ration-free for months. Most frozen foods have been taken from the shortage list, and the same is true of many of the more important canned vegetables. In the case of certain other products, such as grapefruit juice, they are alternately ration-free or rationed at very low point cost.

Food rationing is thus sharply reduced, and the only shortages of any consequence remaining are of butter, sugar, and canned fruit. The butter situation is said to be improving daily, and a large fruit crop is on its way.

In other fields, too, there are favorable prospects for a reduction of rationing. It is now possible to buy either a new or used typewriter without OPA rationing certificates, although of course not many typewriters are on the market. And OPA has permitted large numbers of low-priced shoes to go on the market ration-free.

Substitute for Quinine

American medicine received a serious blow when the Japanese seized the Netherlands Indies with its virtual monopoly of natural quinine, the drug which is so essential in fighting the malarial germ. Now science has succeeded, after 100 years of research, in producing synthetic quinine which, it is said, is identical in every way to the natural drug. The discovery is of particular importance to the armed forces of the United States, for many of them are stationed in regions where malaria is widespread.

Credit for the development is given to two young chemists, Robert B. Woodward and William E. Doering, 26 years of age, whose research in developing the synthetic product has been intensified since the natural source was shut off. The principal problem remaining is whether the substitute can be produced immediately on a sufficiently large scale to meet military requirements.

Britain's War Budget

When Sir John Anderson, Britain's new Chancellor of the Exchequer, appeared before the House of Commons a few days ago to present the country's fourth wartime budget, he announced that the nation would spend during the next fiscal year approximately £6,000,000,000 ($24,000,000,000). This in itself was not of particular importance, although it is Britain's largest budget in history, but it was of interest and satisfaction to Englishmen to know that although taxes would not be increased, 52 per cent of this budget would be raised through taxes and other revenues and only 48 per cent would need to be borrowed.

By comparison, the United States is planning to spend almost $100 billion during the coming fiscal year. Of this amount, roughly 42 per cent will be raised by tax revenues, at current rates, and approximately 58 per cent will be borrowed.

Spain Compromises

Another diplomatic victory for the Allies was marked by the concluding of an agreement with Spain to cut down her exports of wolfram (tungsten) to Germany. Wolfram is one of the most vital minerals of the war because of its use in hardening steel, and Germany has hitherto obtained about 40 per cent of her supply from Spain. From now on, according to the agreement, Spain will export only very small quantities to the Axis nation.

Coming in the wake of Turkey's promise to stop chrome shipments to Germany, this marks a severe blow to Nazi hopes. Spain has moreover consented to oust certain Axis agents from Tangier, Spanish zone in North Africa, and from metropolitan Spain, and to close the German consulate and other Axis agencies in Tangier. This will end one of the worst spy nests in the whole European area.

Finally, Spain has agreed to release a number of Italian ships which have been interned in Spanish ports. In return, the United States has agreed to lift its embargo on the shipment of petroleum to Spain from the Caribbean.

The success which has thus met Allied pressure on Turkey and Spain has encouraged similar pressure on Sweden and Portugal. So far, however, Sweden has remained adamant on the matter of her shipping ball bearings to Germany. Portugal, like Spain, has been a major source of wolfram for the Nazis, and negotiations are now in progress to secure an end to these shipments.

La Prensa Suspended

If anyone still entertained doubts about the true nature of the military regime in Argentina, those doubts were completely dispelled by the recent suspension of *La Prensa*, Argentina's greatest newspaper.

ACME

High school students of Kent, Washington, work 24 hours a week, after school and weekends, making vital airplane parts.

On the surface, the suspension was caused by an editorial criticizing public health authorities in Buenos Aires for economizing so much as to endanger the health of hospital patients. Actually everyone knew that the government was merely using this editorial as a pretext, that the real reason

The American Observer

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lay in *La Prensa's* editorial attitude during the last year toward the dictatorial military regimes of Presidents Pedro P. Ramirez and Edelmiro J. Farrell.

Ever since the Argentine revolution last June *La Prensa* has uncompromisingly opposed and criticized the anti-democratic and anti-constitutional acts of the new government, although its tone has of necessity been kept moderate. One by one other papers fell by the wayside, victims of government muzzling because of their editorial attitude. *La Prensa* continued its attacks, and until this suspension, which lasted only five days, the government hesitated to take action because of the paper's position as one of the world's front-rank journals.

The fascist nature of the Farrell regime is still further revealed in a recent order by the Federal Commissioner of Entre Rios Province that newspapers would be permanently closed if their editorials even mentioned the subjects freedom, religion, or the Constitution.

Canol Completed

Four months after Pearl Harbor, American men, money, and materials in large quantities began to flow toward an insignificant little outpost known as Fort Norman, located a hundred miles south of the Arctic Circle in Canada's Northwest Territories and several hundred miles east of the Canadian-Alaskan border. Construction was begun on one of the most spectacular projects of the war—the great Canol project to tap the vast oil fields of the far north and pipe their black gold to the Pacific Coast more than 600 miles away. Last week, after an expenditure of more than $130,000,000, Canol was ready to start production.

USMC PHOTO

Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, commander-in-chief, U. S. Pacific Fleet (left), congratulates Marine Lt. Gen. Holland M. Smith, after decorating him with the Gold Star. The award was for the part General Smith played in directing the Gilbert and Marshall Islands campaigns.

Canol (which is coined from "Canada" and "oil") draws its petroleum from the fields southwest of Great Bear Lake, pipes it 500 miles southwest to newly built refineries at Whitehorse, on the Alaskan Highway. From there some of the oil is to go on to the Pacific Coast by a 125-mile pipeline between Whitehorse and Skagway, to fuel the ships of the U. S. Navy. The rest will be trucked along the Alaskan Highway to Fairbanks and the Alaskan military airfields.

Canol was strictly a military secret until last November, when the Truman Committee got wind of the project. The committee's investigation revealed that the United States was financing Canol in its entirety, and that the U. S. retains control of the project only for the duration of the war. These facts drew sharp fire from some critics, including Secretary of the Interior Ickes, who maintained that the project was needlessly costly and that Alaska could better be supplied by tankers. But the Army stoutly defended the project, and today it notes proudly that the completion of Canol is an engineering feat comparable to the construction of the Alaskan Highway itself.

ACME

SUPPLY TRAIN TO CANOL PROJECT. Consisting of large flatcars on runners, pulled by two caterpillar tractors, this "train" runs on regular schedule to haul supplies to the exploratory camps of the Canol project.

YMCA Centennial

Next month the Young Men's Christian Association celebrates its one hundredth anniversary. It was on June 6, 1844, that George Williams and a small group of friends founded the organization in London, England, and it was just seven years later that the first YMCA was organized in the United States at Boston. Today the Association has spread to 68 separate countries.

The varied work of the YMCA is well known. Not only does it operate inexpensive hotels for men in many cities, but it sponsors many forms of wholesome recreation and educational opportunities for both men and boys. These include boys' camping, basket ball, a father and son program, first aid and swimming classes. In many high schools the Y has organized auxiliary groups for boys, known as the Hi-Y.

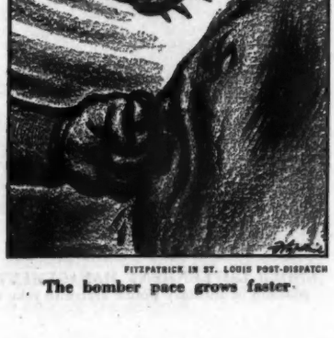
Abroad the YMCA has carried on work to improve the lot of war prisoners. And in many foreign countries, such as China, the Y is responsible for valuable educational programs.

Film of the Week

Before American soldiers are sent to the British Isles they are given many kinds of special training. For one thing, the Army tells them in advance all it can about Great Britain—its geography, its history, its people, and its role in the present war. One method used to tell them these things is to show them a moving picture entitled, *Know Your Ally: Britain*, produced by the U. S. Army under the direction of Frank Capra.

This picture shows, and explains, the many little ways in which Britishers differ from Americans, but it also emphasizes the big ways in which they are alike. Their similar democratic governments and their common traditions of liberty are emphasized. Many vivid scenes illustrate the "all-out" effort of the British people in the present war—evidenced by such things as high taxes, strict rationing, and long working hours. Running time is 42 minutes.

Know Your Ally: Britain can now be shown in American schools as well as in Army camps. Prints of the film for school use may be borrowed (service charge, $1.50) from any one of the 23 film depositories maintained in the United States by the British Information Services, an agency of the British government. For a complete list of their addresses, teachers should write to: J. R. W., British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y.



FITZPATRICK IN ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

The bomber pace grows faster

SMILES

A soldier was being given a blood test by an inexperienced nurse who jabbed half a dozen times before completing the job. When the operation was over, the soldier made no move to go.

"Well, what are you waiting for?" demanded the nurse impatiently.

"The Purple Heart," replied the soldier.

* * *

Said one pelican to another: "I'll be all right in a moment—just got a frog in my throat."

* * *

The private was late for inspection. "Well, it's so nice to see you, soldier," said the sergeant with a snarl. "We were afraid you had signed a separate peace."

* * *

A man calling on a friend knocked and asked him to open the door.

"Can't—door's locked," the friend said.

"Well, unlock it," the caller requested.

"Can't—I've lost the key."

"What will you do if there is a fire?"

"I won't go."

* * *

First Mosquito: "What are you so happy about?"

Second Mosquito: "I just passed my screen test."

SATURDAY EVENING POST

"Well, they rejected me, dear!"

"How much money do you happen to have with you?"

"Between 98 and 100 dollars."

"Isn't that quite a lot to be carrying around?"

"Oh, two dollars isn't so much."

* * *

"Did you have any luck on your hunting trip?"

"I'll say I did. I shot 17 ducks."

"Were they wild?"

"No, but the farmer who owned them was."

NEWS QUIZ OF THE WEEK

1. What was the immediate issue involved between the Montgomery Ward Company and its employees?

2. What steps had the government taken to settle the dispute prior to the seizure of the Chicago plant?

3. Explain the term "maintenance of membership." How did this issue figure in the controversy?

4. On what grounds do opponents of the government's action contend that the seizure was illegal?

5. What justification is given by supporters of the government's policy?

6. What are the principal provisions of the Smith-Connally Act?

7. How has the Supreme Court interpreted the "war powers" of the President in the past?

8. Distinguish between the British Commonwealth of Nations and the British Empire.

9. True or false: The dominions are completely independent nations, united voluntarily through common allegiance to the Crown.

10. Who are the prime ministers of the dominions now meeting in London?

11. What is the principal purpose of the conference?

12. What effect might a strengthening of the ties of the Commonwealth have upon postwar international organization?

13. What is meant by "imperial preference" and what attitude has Prime Minister Churchill taken on this subject?

14. What is Norway's principal advantage to the Nazis?

15. Compare the resources of Norway with those of Sweden.

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Robert St. John

N. & E.

War in 25 Countries

Robert St. John of NBC

EVERY morning at 10:15, EWT, from Monday through Friday, NBC carries the news broadcasts of Robert St. John. He frequently appears on the "News of the World" program at 7:15 p.m., EWT. Those who listen to St. John's pleasant voice discuss the news of the day are keenly aware that his radio reports possess the same distinctive characteristic as his book, *From the Land of Silent People*, and his numerous magazine articles. They are all marked by an unusually deep feeling and sympathetic appreciation for people—especially the "little people" of the world who are so often buffeted about by the "big people." They breathe life and sparkle with color, for they are the stories of human beings, not simply events.

St. John's broadcasts, too, are notable for the depth of background, the years of traveling and editing and reporting on which they draw. Although he is only 42, St. John has lived a life full of dramatic and hazardous sequences. He has covered the war in 25 countries, and lived under German occupation. He knows what it is like to see bombs rain from the sky, to be in a troop train strafed by a squadron of German planes, to feel German machine-gun bullets. He has seen the little people of Europe as they faced their Nazi conquerors, and his broadcasts carry the stamp of that intimate knowledge.

In 1917 St. John left school in Illinois (he was born in Oak Park) to join the Navy. With his uncanny talent for running into disaster, he found himself on a transport whose boilers exploded, but he was miraculously unhurt. Returning from France at the age of 16, he went to Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut, and then entered the newspaper business by working on the Hartford *Courant* and the Chicago *Daily News*.

Finding straight reporting too unexciting, St. John started a reform weekly in the Chicago suburb of Cicero, Illinois. He attempted to drive out the Al Capone gang there, and printed a sensational exposé. But his editorial attacks almost cost him his life: he was severely beaten by Capone's gangsters and left for dead in a ditch. To this day he bears the scars of that incident.

There followed jobs as managing editor of the Rutland (Vermont) *Herald* and as an editor of the Philadelphia *Record*. In 1931 St. John joined the Associated Press in New York City and after covering fires, murders, and political conventions for a time he became city editor. But he grew tired of newspaper life, and retired for six years to a farm in New Hampshire.

It was the threatening war in Europe which jarred him back into the job of reporting. In 1939 he was persuaded to rejoin the Associated Press, which immediately sent him abroad. He landed in Paris the day before the war began, and was assigned to the turbulent Balkans. With his wife he witnessed and reported a continual round of riots, revolutions, and warfare before returning home in August of 1941.

During those two years St. John saw the partition of Romania, the abdication of King Carol, the Romanian earthquake, the two Iron Guard Revolutions, the entrance of Nazi troops into Bucharest and then into Bulgaria, the fall of Yugoslavia, the bombing of Belgrade, the fall of Greece and Crete, the Nazi drive in the Middle East, and the arrival of the *Robin Moor* survivors at Cape Town in South Africa.

He lived for months under German occupation, studied the Nazi army at close hand, and had his own agents in Soviet territory who sent him weekly reports on the Red preparations for the war in the east. He fled from Yugoslavia in a 20-foot fishing boat, was bombed and machine-gunned in Greece, and finally escaped with Nazi machine gun bullets in his leg. The story of the four terrible weeks which followed his flight from Belgrade are vividly told in his best-selling book, *From the Land of Silent People*, which has been hailed by critics as a vivid and distinguished job of front-line reporting.

After these experiences St. John joined NBC's staff in London, where in addition to reporting the war he worked a full-time shift in a British war factory. The strain told on his health and he was forced to return to the United States to recuperate. But his months in England gave him a remarkable insight into the life of the British people during wartime.

A tall, blue-eyed, brown-haired, soft-spoken man with an impressive beard, St. John has become a familiar figure in this country during the last several years. In addition to his radio broadcasts he has traveled extensively on lecture tours throughout the country, preaching the doctrine of full cooperation for victory and discussing the complex problem of postwar reconstruction in the Balkans.

Montgomery Ward Issues

(Concluded from page 1)

contract, and ordered the company and the union to sign it.

This contract did not compel Montgomery Ward to accept a closed shop. A closed shop requires a company to employ only members of a union. The contract ordered by WLB permitted the company to hire any workers it pleased, whether the workers belonged to the union or not. It did, however, contain a "maintenance of membership" provision. It said that if a worker chose to join the union he must continue to be a member throughout the year that the contract ran.

This was one of the provisions that the company and the union had been quarreling about. The union officials said that if union members were allowed to drop membership during the year the company might force them to do so. It might adopt a policy of firing union members, which would make members fear that they would lose their jobs if they didn't leave the union. The company claimed that the maintenance of membership provision interfered with the management's right to hire, fire, and manage its business.

The Montgomery Ward officials disliked the contract so much that for several weeks they refused to sign. They signed under protest on December 18, 1942. The contract, which was to run a year, expired December 18, 1943. The company then refused to extend it for another year, and it refused to go on bargaining with the CIO union. The company said there had been a big turnover among the employees during the year and that the CIO union no longer had a majority of the employees.

The WLB agreed that there should be an election to decide whether a majority of the workers still wanted the CIO union to represent them in their dealings with the company, but the Board ordered the company to extend the contract and keep going under the old terms of employment until an election could be held.

The company refused to do this and there was much bickering among them and the union officials. Finally, the union, failing to get the contract extended, called a strike on April 2, 1944. President Roosevelt then ordered that both sides obey the WLB order; that, until an election could be held to determine who should represent the workers in negotiations, the company should hold to the old contract, and the strikers should go back to work.

The strikers obeyed the order and went back to work. The company refused to obey. Then the President ordered that the government seize the Montgomery Ward plants and operate them until an agreement could be reached by the company and the union. When Sewell Avery, head of the firm, refused to give possession, he was carried out of his office by soldiers and the government took charge.

Such, in brief outline, are the facts of the case. The issues are more complex. Here are some of them:

1. A strike in industry is threatened. The War Labor Board studies the case and issues an order, declaring what the settlement shall be. One side to the dispute refuses to obey the WLB order and a strike results. How can the WLB ruling be enforced?

2. Has the President of the United States been given authority by Congress to enforce a WLB order in such a case as that of the Montgomery Ward dispute by seizing the plants and putting them under government operation?

Last June Congress passed the Smith-Connally Act, authorizing the President to seize any factory, plant or mine engaged in the production of "any articles or materials which may be required for the war effort or which may be useful in connection therewith." But is Montgomery Ward, a mail order house engaging chiefly, though not wholly, in the sale of articles to civilians that kind of plant?

3. Does the President have the right under the "war powers," to seize a plant which is tied up by a strike if he thinks the stoppage of work is interfering with the war effort, even though he is not specifically authorized by Congress to take such drastic action.

The constitutional problems involved are now before the courts. Attorney General Biddle asked a Chicago federal court to issue an injunction (or court order) forbidding the Montgomery Ward officials to interfere with the government's operation of the plants. The court's ruling was promised quickly. If it holds that the government's act in taking over the plants was constitutional, it will grant the injunction. If not, it will refuse to do so.

The general question of policy involved in the case is being debated in Congress and throughout the nation. The arguments most frequently advanced on both sides are presented on the next page.

UNDER GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT. Thousands of curious onlookers watch a platoon of military police arrive to take over the Chicago plant of Montgomery Ward

Pros and Cons of Montgomery Ward Case

Supporting the Government's Action

THE Smith-Connally Act, passed by Congress last June, gives the President power to seize an establishment such as Montgomery Ward. That firm sells and distributes agricultural equipment and other articles which are certainly "useful in connection with" the war effort. As President Roosevelt said in his telegram to the company and to the workers the strike

ACME

Wayne C. Taylor, undersecretary of commerce (right), discusses plans for the operation of Montgomery Ward with Attorney General Francis J. Biddle. Mr. Taylor was given responsibility for operation of the plant after the government's seizure.

"was causing delay in the delivery of farm equipment and machinery, repair parts, electrical appliances, automobile tires, and other goods essential for the economy in wartime."

Furthermore, one division of the company (The Hummer Manufacturing Company) manufactures carburetors, propellers, and gun mounts for military aircraft, as well as farm machinery and repair parts.

That this company is engaged in essential war production and distribution is indicated by the fact that it has requested and received from the War Production Board a large number of priorities in obtaining critical materials and goods. In seeking these priorities, the company made it clear that it was engaging in business vital to the war program on the home front. The WPB, in granting the priorities, recognized the essential nature of the Montgomery Ward's business activities.

But even without the Smith-Connally Act, the President had a right to act. The strike was threatening to spread. Unions in important war plants had voted to support the Montgomery Ward strikers. Teamsters and railway workers were refusing to carry Montgomery Ward products. There was danger of strikes that would have interfered seriously with the war effort.

The President of the United States has a duty to keep the war effort moving. We cannot send soldiers to fight in foreign lands and then say that we are helpless when production at home is threatened. When industry is tied up by disputes, the President, as Commander-in-Chief, must take such action as is necessary to keep it going.

To say that if the President can do this he can step in and take over any store or business in the land and establish a military dictatorship is absurd. He can do what is necessary to support the war. It *is* necessary to prevent strikes and lockouts in vital industries. It is *not* necessary to take over all the business of the country, and no president has ever undertaken to do that. President Roosevelt has taken over only a handful of industrial enterprises, and the majority of these concerns have been returned to their owners after a short time of government control. Prior to the Montgomery Ward case, the government had seized the property involved in 17 disputes. In only two cases is the property still held by the government. In every case, the private owners continue to receive the companies' profits, and if they can prove in court that they have lost money through government operation, the additional money is given to them.

Opposition to the government's action in the Montgomery Ward case comes from people who want one rule applied to labor and another to employers. When the President seized the coal mines and sent the Army to take over the mines, most of the nation's newspapers which reflect the views of their owners applauded the act. They thought that the government should "crack down" on strikers in time of war.

Now the shoe is on the other foot. It is an employer who defies the government, and most of the business-dominated press is condemning the government's act as an infringement upon liberty and an act of dictatorship. In the coal strike case the government, having seized the mines, forced the union to call off the strike. It is now acting with equal firmness against an employer. If the government is acting dictatorially now, it was acting in the same manner during the coal strike. Yet the majority of newspapers praised its action then and condemns it now.

Montgomery Ward was treated fairly by the War Labor Board and there was no excuse for its defying the government. The WLB is made up of members from the ranks of workers, employers, and the general public. The order of the Board, directing the company to continue its contract with the workers until an election could be held, was supported by a unanimous vote, the industry members joining with the representatives of the workers and the public in making the decision.

Opposing the Government's Action

NOTHING in the Smith-Connally Act justifies the President's seizure of Montgomery Ward's Chicago plants. This law cannot be interpreted to mean anything which it does not state, and it definitely gives the government power of seizure of certain kinds of businesses only; namely, of "any plant, mine or facility equipped for the *manufacture, production,* or *mining,*" of war materials. Montgomery Ward is primarily a merchandising, not a manufacturing, production, or mining, concern.

This company does indeed operate a plant which manufactures certain war materials. If there had been labor troubles in this particular plant, and if the government had taken it over, there might have been some claim of legality, But it is not even in the Chicago area, where the plants were seized. It is located at Springfield, Illinois.

If, under claim of authority from the Smith-Connally Act, the government can take over a business like that of Montgomery Ward, which is engaged almost wholly in the selling of civilian goods, it can take over the business of any merchant in the country. No store or factory will be safe from dictatorial seizure in wartime if the President is upheld in the Montgomery Ward case.

The President has no power, either during war or peace, to do anything he is not authorized to do by the Constitution or by an act of Congress. Hence the argument that he can take over business under some vague authority classified as "war power," falls to the ground.

The United States Supreme Court made this fact clear in its decision in the case known as "Ex Parte Milligan." In declaring unconstitutional a wartime act of President Lincoln which had been defended on the ground of "war power," the Supreme Court said:

"No doctrine involving more pernicious consequences was ever invented by the wit of man than that any of the Constitution's provisions may be suspended during any of the great exigencies of government. Such a doctrine leads directly to anarchy or despotism—the theory of necessity on which it is based is false."

It is important that the war be won and that the war effort be not impeded by labor troubles or by anything else. Congress has, through the Smith-Connally Act, defined circumstances under which the government should take over industry to keep the war effort going. If this act is not far-reaching enough, it should be amended. But the decision as to the circumstances under which property rights should be invaded by the government should always rest with the law-making body. It is dangerous to assume that the President can do whatever he pleases with a man's private business during wartime.

ACME

Lt. Ludwig Pincura (left), followed by Ugo Carusi, executive assistant to Attorney General Biddle, as they strode toward Mr. Avery's office.

The action of the WLB and of the President, in this case as in other cases of labor dispute, has been prejudiced against employers and in favor of labor unions. In the case of the mine strike, soldiers were sent to the mine regions, but the strikers kept on striking until they got a settlement very favorable to them. Why didn't the government at that time seize the miners' union? Why didn't the soldiers carry John L. Lewis out of his office so that the government could take over, as they did Sewell Avery?

PRESS ASS'N

Sewell Avery, chairman of the board of Montgomery Ward who was ejected from his office as the Army took possession of the plant.

Why is it that in case of a labor dispute, whether caused by management or workers, the government's remedy is to take over the management and let the unions go scot free?

It is to be noted that when the head of the Montgomery Ward firm refused to give the government possession of the plants he was ejected by soldiers —by military power. If the Attorney General had wished to proceed in a lawful manner he would have asked the court for an injunction, ordering Mr. Avery to give possession. But the agents of the government did not carry the matter to the court until they had already taken forcible possession.

Today we have two big jobs to do. One is to win the war against dictatorship and tyranny. The other is to preserve our own freedom from dictatorship and tyranny while we are fighting it abroad. We can do this by maintaining the rule of law even in wartime and by preventing the unwarranted encroachment upon our liberties by executive decree under pretense of military necessity. The nation must be protected against the extension of the President's "war powers" to dangerous limits.

Norway and Sweden on Alert

JUST as Denmark and the Lowlands have assumed a new importance to both the Allies and Germany as decisive military developments impend (see last week's issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER), so two other small countries of Europe are coming more and more into the limelight. They are the two Scandinavian countries of Norway and Sweden. The former is an occupied country, the latter a neutral.

Unlike Denmark, Norway refused to accept the "protection" of the Nazis in 1940 without fighting back. Stunned by the suddenness of the blow struck by the Nazis and by the connivance of a well-organized Fifth Column within the country, the Norwegians fought valiantly to retain their independence, but they were unsuccessful and the campaign was over in a few short weeks.

But if the war was officially over in a few weeks, the fight has continued for more than four long years. The Norwegians have never accepted the Nazis as permanent rulers and their acts of sabotage and other resistance have been so widespread that the Germans have been obliged to keep large numbers of troops in the country just to prevent open rebellion. Today, after more than four years, the Norwegians anxiously await the day of liberation, for they are united as few people are in their determination to throw off the Nazi yoke.

THREE LIONS

Sweden's soldiers, 500,000 strong, are prepared for any emergency as the European war approaches its climax.

The Swedes, though they have managed to retain their independence, are almost equally anxious these days. More than ever before, they are between two fires. Each day they are subjected to greater pressure from the United States and Great Britain to stop selling iron ore, ball bearings, and other war materials to Germany. As Allied pressure increases, so do German threats. If they accede to British and American requests, they face the possibility of a military occupation by the Nazis.

As the tempo of the war of nerves increases and the day of invasion draws nearer, the Swedes are taking steps to prepare for what may come. They have strengthened their defenses and have clearly indicated that they will not accept military occupation without a fight. During the last few weeks fear of a Nazi invasion has become more intense than at any time since the occupation of Norway and Denmark.

What role, if any, the Scandinavian Peninsula will play in the invasion of Western Europe will, of course, be known only as the pattern of the invasion becomes clear. Just as Hitler figured in 1940 that Norway was sufficiently important to the success of his military operations to warrant an invasion, so the Allies may now reverse the strategy in breaching the fortress from the west. Hitler felt that his attack upon Western Europe could not be launched until he had secured his northern flank. His motive for invading Norway and Denmark was clear enough. It would guard Germany against the danger of a British landing in that area, neutralize Sweden and thus insure him the iron ore and other war materials so desperately needed.

Similar reasons may figure in Allied invasion strategy. The liberation of Norway, or at least the partial occupation of Norwegian territory, would provide new and well-located air bases which could be used against Germany. It would go a long way toward freeing the Baltic Sea from German control and would thus place the Allies in a position to cut off the supply of iron ore and other materials which flows from Sweden to the Reich. It would also remove a serious threat to the northern supply route between the United States and Russia.

It is the possibility of a thrust at Norway that has caused the Swedes to intensify their defense preparations, for they realize that if the Allies occupy Norway, the Germans in all probability will move against Sweden as a counter-measure. Only in this way could the Germans hope to protect their northern flank.

Different Emotions

Because of its probable effect upon each of the two countries, Norway and Sweden await events with different emotions. To the Swedes it is not a matter of being freed from a cruel terror. As much as they would like to see the destruction of Naziism, and as much as they have suffered from the dislocations caused by the war, they have not experienced the sheer terror that other countries have. They have avoided war on their own soil. Now they are confronted by that unpleasant prospect, and their feeling of joy at the liberation of Europe is mingled with a fear of becoming involved in the war.

To the Norwegians, coming events cast no such shadow, for to them nothing could be worse than the experience they have gone through during the last four years. As President Roosevelt has said: "If there is anyone who still wonders why this war is being fought, let him look to Norway. . . . And if there is anyone who doubts the democratic will to win, again I say let him look to Norway. He will find in Norway, at once conquered and unconquerable, the answers to his questions."

Strategic Advantages

Aside from her geographic location, Norway has provided the Nazis with few advantages. The country is long and mountainous and is almost totally lacking in natural resources. About twice the size of Florida, Norway produces in important quantities only one product—wood. The land is so rugged that most towns and villages can be built only along the coast.

Norway and Sweden

From these towns and villages, in normal times, Norwegian fishermen go out to fish in the fjords, those arms of the sea which reach far inland and which are sometimes as deep as the mountains are high, and also in the waters along the coast. Fish follow the warm Gulf Stream to the coast of Norway and provide a source of income to many Norwegians.

Norway has long been an important seafaring nation and her prosperity has depended in considerable degree upon her merchant marine, fourth largest in the world before the war. In proportion to population, it was the largest. Many Norwegian vessels escaped the clutches of the Nazis in 1940 and have since performed valiant duty in the cause of the United Nations.

The Norwegians are represented in the councils of the United Nations by a government-in-exile, located in London. Unlike King Christian of Denmark and King Leopold of Belgium, both of whom are virtual prisoners of the Nazis, King Haakon of Norway is in London with his government. The government maintains close contact with the underground movement in Norway—a movement which has been so successful that the Nazis have launched a reign of terror and mass executions—all to no avail.

Sweden is richly endowed with natural resources. Some of the world's finest deposits of iron ore are located in the northern part of the country, and a great wealth of timberlands covers slightly more than half the country. Sweden is highly developed industrially, with important iron and steel plants, paper mills, machine factories, an extensive electrical equipment industry, and many others. Her armament industry is highly developed.

It is perhaps this armament industry which is capable of turning out the most modern of equipment to Sweden's army of 500,000 well-trained men which deterred Hitler from invading the country at the time of the Norwegian campaign.

The southern part of Sweden is well suited to agriculture. Dairy products, pork, and cereals are among the leading products of a generous soil and a good climate.

Although Sweden's population of 6,000,000 enjoys a higher standard of living than most of the peoples of Europe, the country is by no means self-sufficient and must depend upon foreign sources for many vital materials. She has no coal or oil and must depend upon Germany for the former and the Allies for the latter. Because of her dependence upon these materials, Sweden has felt obliged to steer her course of neutrality with extreme caution.

Sweden has nevertheless felt the impact of war. Her foreign trade has been reduced, despite the fact that she has been obtaining vital materials from both the Allies and Germany. The Swedish standard of living has fallen and a rigid system of rationing has been imposed upon the country.

But if Sweden has been officially neutral, her people have been far from neutral in their thoughts. Their desire for a United Nations' victory is overwhelming. They have close ties of friendship with both Norway and Denmark and they have been deeply affected by the tragic plight of those two countries. They realize that their plight would be the same had it suited the purposes of the Nazis and that they may still feel the blow of Nazi tyranny.

Allied military leaders are said to be pressing for a much stronger policy toward Sweden than has heretofore been followed by our diplomatic representatives. Their attitude is that the Swedes' insistence upon neutrality is in fact prolonging the war because Sweden is a part of Hitler's economy. It remains a "bomb-proof source of supply" to the Nazi war machine and thus nullifies to a certain extent the destruction which is made upon war plants inside the Fortress. As the military climax approaches, it seems likely that we will demand more of Sweden than sympathy for our cause and an official policy of neutrality. We will demand concrete steps to hasten the day of victory.

EVANS FROM THREE LIONS

CONQUERED BUT UNCONQUERABLE. The Norwegians defy the Nazis by displaying signs which mean in English, "Long Live the King!"